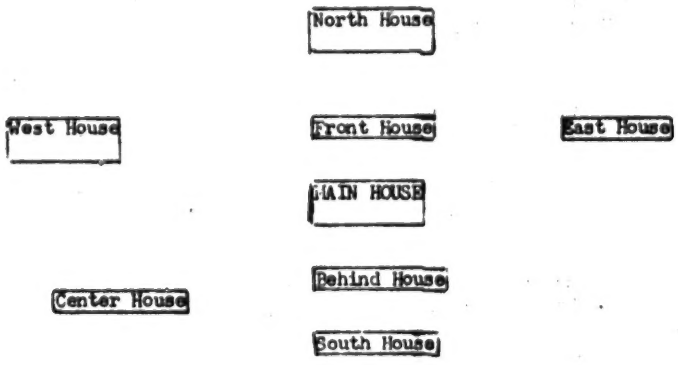
state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 614 613 The household order name given to any single family shows the place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family. Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Hinatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name. These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root [193] word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

614 613 592 621 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration, the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle. Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house, built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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[193]

The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west; subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

The manner in which the household order names may be applied to successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:

(1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and Now Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous prefixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

(3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added, as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 120--analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

G14
G13
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Minatogawa families:

1 Jinaniritamagusuku. Second Son Western Tamagusuku, for the name Tamashiro Bunkichi. Here the surname and the root word in the household order name are the same because Tamagusuku is the Okinawan equivalent of Tamashiro, gusuku being the Okinawan and shiro the Japanese reading of castle.

2 Gonanfugoshi. Fifth Son, Fugoshi. Actual surname is Uehara.

3 Yonanagariakaigwa. Fourth Son Little Eastern Akai, actual surname, Kanashiro.

4 Ufuyagwa. This illustrates the use of the prefix ufu (ufa) meaning great or big, to show the main house and the suffix, gwa, meaning little, indicating it is a branch family. The actual surname is Tamashiro.

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5 Jinanufuguchigwa. Second Son of Little Great Guchi, actual surname, Tamashiro.

6 Inaminegwa, Little Inamine. Actual surname, Inamine.

7 Sannantarunagaminegwa. Third Son of Little Taru Nagamine. Actual full name, Nagamine Tarō, the Japanese equivalent of Nagamine, Taru.

8 Danpachiya. The House of the Barber. Actual surname is Oshiro. The Okinawan word for barber is danpachi.

9 Asato. A household order name based on a place name. Asato is a village in this township. Meaning is The House of Asato, actual name, Asato Shinkichi.

Some of the household order names are occupational in character, such as the barber in the above list. According to Minatogawa informants, there was also a navel household order name. Navel is hesso in Japanese, tembusu in Okinawan. If a person had a conspicuously large navel, the house was named after him and became Tembuya, House of the Navel, although it is not clear whether this was a hereditary household order name or merely a temporary one, more resembling an individual nickname. The occupational household order names apparently were both temporary and hereditary. For example, the household order name, Nakama, a surname, might have the prefix kajira (Japanese) or kanja (Okinawan) meaning blacksmith, for one son, and Danpachiya Nakama, Barber Nakama, to distinguish by occupation one son from another.

There are instances, but not in the villages studied, of household order names following the name of the official position of an ancestor. Descendants, for example, of the first head man (kuchō in Japanese) of a village might, if their surname were Moromizato, add the word kuchō making Kuchōmoromizato, Family of the Head Man Moromizato. These however

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called nabesugwa in Okinawan. 24/262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 24/311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō a/	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6